1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

593 their father had turned over to him, one after the other, because of his high regard for ču'nekị. Besides this typical example of sororal polygyny, I know of three other unions in which an Indian married two sisters simultaneously.

595 The levirate is said to have been formerly frequent and considered meritorious, but not obligatory. I myself have never encountered it, but I do know of two 587 widowers each of whom married the widow of his brother; each widow already had children. More numerous are instances of bigamy in which the two women are not sisters and belong to different clans; I knew of eight such unions.

595 Sometimes the particular circumstances that prompt bigamy are interesting. Antonio juruti', though married for many years, never had any children, so he took another wife, a niece of the first—but with the same result. When João Arapaço va'ičakị's first wife had a child, at his wife's request he summoned her niece to his house to help her, since the niece was getting on badly with her stepfather, who could not abide her. Some time later, va'ičakị took this nurse of his child as his second wife, with her aunt's full consent. The wife of a certain Jeronymo of the Rio Jacurapá happened to fall ill just when his large crop of manioc should have been made into flour, for which reason he asked for, and received in marriage, his second wife.

There are, however, women who will not consent to their husband's taking a second helpmate. The best sculptress of tucumã figurines, e'kịrane, was married to Anastacio daune'kị, who never begot a child with her. He then proposed to her that he marry a second woman, but she resolutely opposed this, preferring a separation. Anastacio did marry the other woman, who lived only in a state of illness, being passed from one shaman to another, for she also was barren.

In general, two wives live in harmony and help each other unless the difference in their ages is too great. If it is, the situation becomes a bit whimsical. Rufino bo/kị'rakị, some forty years old and married to a woman of the same age, was the father of various children. His eldest daughter was already married and expecting her first child when, at his second daughter's puberty ceremony, he married a girl eighteen years old. The natural consequence of the striking difference in the ages of the two wives was that the second, instead of considering herself the companion of the first, associated with the young girl, her stepdaughter.

152 *Jealousy.*—According to Tessmann, in case of adultery the husband fights his rival. But I know of no fights between persons of the same sex because of jealousy. 578 On the other hand, among spouses jealousy causes violent scenes (see p. 51), which 593 may lead to separation.

A husband who realizes that his wife has just reasons for jealousy forces himself to bear calmly vituperation and even a shower of blows, "if he is a serious man," according to the expression of one of my informants, who very calmly confessed that in fifteen years of married life he had been thrashed some twenty times by his jealous wife. The wife receives the same treatment, but such scenes, unless unduly repeated, cause little scandal.

Divorce.—I never heard of a husband's having murdered his wife, but what 586 may happen, if there is dissension, is that either will obtain a divorce. The wife's relatives will not permit gross maltreatment of her by the husband; hence, if he maltreats her and conciliatory intervention proves fruitless, they force her to re-

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

593 I have occasionally referred and the excesses committed during drunkenness, though characteristic of these people, do not seriously alter the general picture.
592 Among the inhabitants of a house, who are always of the same family, the authority of the father or of the grandfather is supreme, being recognized in an argument, without dispute. The mother or grandmother shares in this authority, especially in the treatment of the daughters. The old man is the owner of the house, though others may have contributed to its construction. If he wishes to move to another locality, all accompany him, even if they are dead set against it.

592 The inhabitants of neighboring houses are generally in some way related, per-
602 haps representing today the ancient communal dwelling. They share their necessities and likewise distribute any surplus among themselves, always in the most intimate sociability. The diagram (fig. 12) shows the composition of one of these

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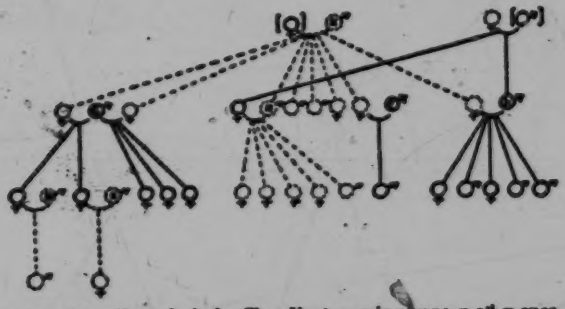

Fig. 12. Clan relationships. Dotted circle, Clan čiva' = seringarana = a'i = onça. Solid line circle, Clan ãu/ŋq° = maïsum /ava.

local groupings of related families, comprising three houses with thirty-two inhabitants. Note that A marries the sister of B, and B marries the sister of A. C marries successively two sisters of A; his two sons-in-law live with him; and F, another brother-in-law, lives with A. The group is therefore composed of sons, sons-in-law, grandsons, and great-grandsons of X, deceased.

736 *Widows and orphans.*—In these groups, widows and orphans always find the necessary shelter. A certain widow living with her daughters of thirteen and
589 fifteen years old apparently has her economic life perfectly balanced. The three females plant in the clearing which they themselves are able to clear of undergrowth with a machete; they make farinha; they fish; and they make tucum fiber hammocks for sale. A married son, who lives close by, helps them whenever necessary. Small orphans are adopted by an uncle or aunt, who bring them up with their own children. Formerly, also, the levirate often relieved the situation of a
[587] widow and her children. A widower alone with his small children is in a less favorable economic situation; his place is always in a run-down condition, and the children, during the necessary absences of their father, naturally try to make up to the neighboring relatives. Sooner or later, the widower either remarries or, following the example of his sons, moves in with the family of a relative. This is an outstanding demonstration of the economic importance of the Tukuna woman.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.